

Ireland's Appeal to Wilson

Let Ireland Be Free

The Irish Case Against Ulster

England's Attitude Toward Ireland

The Catholic Mind

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Ireland's Appeal to Wilson

*The Irish Parliamentary Party's Demand for
Self-Determination.*

SIR—On the afternoon of November 5 our party brought before the House of Commons a motion asking that, as the British Government was about to take part in proceedings for the resettlement of Europe, "the Irish Question should be settled in accordance with the principles laid down by President Wilson, that all nations, large and small, should have free self-determination as to their form of government, and that no people should be ruled and dominated even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force instead of by their own will and choice."

We felt, sir, that we were justified in making this demand upon the British Government in your name and in the name of the principles in joining in this war for which you and your country stand. May we, Sir, take the liberty of recapitulating, in addition to those we have already given, passages from your great utterances on this war which we hold to justify and to enforce this demand we have made for our nation on the British Government?

In your message to Congress on April 2, 1917, you used this language:

We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world, and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy; its peace must be planted upon tested foundations of political liberty. We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations, and make the world at last free.

In your speech to Congress on February 11, 1918 you spoke thus:

This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the

force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiance and their own forms of political life.

AT WASHINGTON'S TOMB.

In your speech at Washington's Tomb on July 4 of this year, this was the language you employed:

On the one hand stand the peoples of the world, not only the peoples actually engaged but many others also who suffer under mastery, but cannot act. . . . What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed, and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind.

Were we not summarizing faithfully the views thus so eloquently and frequently set forth, by demanding "That all nations, large and small, should have free self-determination as to their form of government, and that no people should be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force instead of by their own will and choice?"

We furthermore recall to your memory the summing-up of the aims of this war as they appeared to your mind:

Shall the military power of any nation, or group of nations, be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force? Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purposes and interests? Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force, or by their own will and choice? Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations, or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

THE FOURTEEN POINTS.

Finally, in the Fourteen Articles which now, with one exception, have been accepted by all the Powers, Great Britain included, associated with you in carrying on this war against Germany, are these words:

A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political and territorial independence for great and small nations alike.

On the occasion on which you set forth these Fourteen Articles, you summed up both them and all your other views with regard to this war in these words:

An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another whether they be strong or weak.

Can anybody doubt that in making these eloquent de-

fenses of the rights of small nations to self-determination; of the equality of these rights of small nations with those of large nations; in the demand that no people shall be governed by the superior force of a great nation, however small the one or great the other; in the demand that no nation, however strong, shall have the right to wrong another nation, however weak; in the demand that there shall be a common standard of right and privilege for all nations and peoples; that the strong shall not do as they will, and that the weak shall not suffer without redress—can anybody doubt that the nation of Ireland comes under the category of those small nations for whose rights you so eloquently plead? or that the present government of Ireland by Great Britain, against the will of Ireland and simply by arbitrary and irresponsible force, comes under the scathing condemnation you have given to all such exercises of wrong?

Finally, sir, in challenging the opinion of the British Government with regard to the rights of our people and as to the accord of their policy with your principles, were we not but repeating a challenge that you have already given to the statesmen of every one of the other Powers of the world? In your speech at New York of September 27 you have made an appeal from Ministers and officials to the hearts of the masses of the people everywhere, and these were your words:

The counsels of plain men have become on all hands more simple and straightforward and more unified than the counsels of sophisticated men of affairs, who still retain the impression that they are playing a game of power, and playing for high stakes. That is why I have said that this is a people's war, not a statesman's. Statesmen must follow the common clarified thought or be broken. I take that to be the significance of the fact that assemblies and associations of many kinds made up of plain workaday people have demanded, almost every time that they came together, and are still demanding, that the leaders of their Governments declare to them plainly what it is, exactly what it is, that they are seeking in this war, and what they think the items of their final settlement should be.

They are not yet satisfied with what they have been told. They still seem to fear that they are getting what they ask for only in statesmen's terms—only in the terms of territorial arrangements and discussions of power, and not in terms of broad-visioned justice and mercy and peace, and the satisfaction of those deep-seated longings of oppressed and distracted men and women and enslaved peoples that seem to them the only things worth fighting a war for that engulfs the world.

AN UNANSWERED DEMAND.

In that same speech you note that this demand for a statement of their real attitude on the issues of this war has remained unanswered by the British Administration. You used these words:

Perhaps statesmen have not always recognized this changed aspect of the whole world of policy and action. Perhaps they have not always spoken in direct reply to the questions asked because they did not know how searching these questions were and what sort of answers they demanded. But I, for one, am glad to attempt the answer again and again in the hope that I may make it clearer and clearer that my one thought is to satisfy those who struggle in the ranks, and are, perhaps, above all others, entitled to a reply whose meaning no one can have any excuse for misunderstanding, if he understands the language in which it is spoken, or can get someone to translate it correctly into his own. And I believe that the leaders of the Governments with which we are associated will speak, as they have occasion, as plainly as I have tried to speak.

Sir, for more than two months that speech remained unanswered; but an answer was at last given to these searching questions of yours in the debate that followed our motion. That answer, summed up, was that the government of Ireland should be continued on the lines of repression, militarism, and all the other doctrines of that hideous reign of Junkerism in Germany which the armies of free nations have at last brought to the earth.

The answer further, was, that the liberty of Ireland should be postponed until a small minority of her people gave their consent to the liberation of the majority—a principle that would destroy your efforts and those of the associated Powers in giving liberation to the Czecho-Slovaks, to the Jugo-Slavs, to Poland, to Alsace-Lorraine, and to every other of the oppressed nationalities to which you and your country have so largely contributed to make free.

Furthermore, in language of wanton and studied insolence the spokesmen of the present British Administration have repudiated the right of you or any of the other associated Governments to offer counsel or even suggestion on the settlement of the future of Ireland. But we submit that this war aimed at something more—as you yourself put it—than “a game of power.” This is the language of what you rightly term “sophisticated men of affairs, who still think that they are playing a

game of power." This is language "in the terms of territorial arrangements and discussions of power," and not, to quote from your speech in New York, "in the terms of broad-visioned justice and mercy and peace and the satisfaction of those deep-seated longings of oppressed and distracted men and women and enslaved peoples that seem to them the only things worth fighting a war for that engulfs the world."

NOT THE ANSWER SOUGHT.

It is not the answer you asked; it is not the answer that represents the views and hopes of all the true democratic thought of the English people.

We claim that this war must be looked at from your own standard of "broad-visioned justice," for the creation of a new world of freedom everywhere and in all nations; that what the war has to do is to build up an entirely new world "safe for democracy;" that this supreme fact and issue of the war makes the liberation of Ireland as well as of other small nations a duty in which all the associated Powers have a right to a voice and a part; that no question, in short, of any oppressed nation or race can be considered today as merely domestic; every national question is today an international question, unless, indeed, the world is to abandon that vision of a League of Nations to maintain the future peace and the reign of universal justice in the world.

We implore you, then, sir, not to relax your efforts to make this war not a mere triumph of nation over nation, of armies over armies.

We have no hesitation in calling in your aid, because the world of plain men, the world which an American President best and most truly represents, have recognized in you the keeper of the conscience and the guide of the mind of all the plain men of the world. We claim the further right to throw ourselves upon your protection and upon your aid, because you are the ruler of more millions of the men of our blood than any other ruler on earth; because your country, above all others, has been the asylum of our race, driven in hunger and by force from the land of their fathers; because we know it is the desire of you and of all your people that men of our race shall find in their Motherland the same liberties and rights that have made them so powerful, prosperous and loyal a section of your community.

We appeal to you, sir, because in every hour of our history our race has stood by the flag of your nation, and your nation has never refused us its aid, its sympathy, and its accord with our national aspirations.

Signed by JOHN DILLON, East Mayo; T. P. O'CONNOR, Scotland Div., Liverpool; JOSEPH DEVLIN, West Belfast; RICHARD HAZLETON, North Galway; J. P. BOLAND, South Kerry; D. BOYLE, North Mayo; P. J. BRADY, St. Stephen's Green; A. BYRNE, Harbor Div., Dublin; J. J. CLANCY, North County Dublin; T. J. CONDON, East Tipperary; J. COSGROVE, East Galway; P. CRUMLEY, South Fermanagh; J. CULLINAN, South Tipperary; CAPT. A. DONELAN, East Wicklow; P. DONNELLY, South Armagh; J. T. DONOVAN, West Wicklow; W. DORIS, West Mayo; W. J. DUFFY, South Galway; SIR THOS. ESMONDE, North Wexford; CAPT. J. ESMONDE, North Tipperary; J. P. FARRELL, North Longford; P. FRENCH, South Wexford; WM. FIELD, St. Patrick's, Dublin; J. FITZGIBBON, South Mayo; J. L. FITZPATRICK, Ossory; M. J. FLAVIN, North Kerry; J. HACKETT, Mid-Tipperary; T. J. S. HARBISON, East Tyrone; J. P. HAYDEN, South Roscommon; M. L. HEARN, South County Dublin; M. JOYCE, Limerick City; M. KEATING, South Kilkenny; E. KELLY, East Donegal; V. KENNEDY, West Cavan; D. KILBRIDE, South Kildare; H. A. LAW, West Donegal; T. LUNDON, East Limerick; J. MACVEAGH, South Down; R. MCGHEE, Mid-Tyrone; M. MEAGHER, North Kilkenny; F. E. MEEHAN, North Leitrim; P. J. MEEHAN, Leinster; M. MOLLOY, Carlow; J. J. MOONEY, Newry; J. MULDOON, East Cork; M. J. MURPHY, East Waterford; J. NOLAN, South Louth; J. D. NUGENT, College Green; JOHN O'CONNOR, North Kildare; P. O'DOHERTY, North Donegal; T. O'DONNELL, West Kerry; J. O'DOWD, South Sligo; D. O'LEARY, West Cork; W. O'MALLEY, Connemara; P. O'SHAUGHNESSY, West Limerick; J. J. O'SHEE, West Waterford; T. O'SULLIVAN, East Kerry; M. REDDY, Birr; CAPT. W. REDMOND, Waterford City; T. SCANLAN, North Sligo; D. SHEEHY, South Meath; T. F. SMYTH, South Leitrim; P. J. WHITTY, North Louth.

Let Ireland Be Free

THE HON. E. J. GAVEGAN.

*The Speech Made on Presenting the Resolutions
Adopted at the New York Mass Meeting, Dec. 10.*

WE are gathered here on this solemn occasion as American citizens to support the President of the United States in his endeavor to obtain justice and freedom for all peoples.

We believe that it will be a good thing and a fortunate thing for the national spirit of America as a whole, if the time shall come when it can no longer be said of upwards of 20,000,000 of her population that they are the offspring of a subject race.

We do not question the right of others to live as subjects if they so determine, but as citizens of a great Republic and as members of a great race, whether Irish-born or American-born, whether recently arrived or the descendants of intervening generations of American free-men; whether fighting shoulder to shoulder with their compatriots in 1776 for American Independence, or in 1812 for the freedom of the seas, or in 1861 for the preservation of the Union, or in 1898 for the freedom of Cuba, or in 1918 for the freedom of the world, men and women of the Irish race in America do not like the word "subject." The reason they do not like it is because it bespeaks servitude and autocracy, and they know that the great war, from which we are victoriously emerging with such high credit to American arms and also Irish-American valor, was fought, so far as America is concerned, for the purpose of destroying autocracy and making the world safe for democracy.

We resent the charge, so lightly made, that the Irish cannot agree. The charge is unfair and unjust so long as there is withheld from the people of Ireland the only means whereby any people anywhere are ever able, or at any time to agree, and that means is the application of the democratic principle of the rule of the majority. There is no people in the world that disagree so much and so often as the people of the United States of America. But on the day after election they cast their disagreements aside and all abide by the will of the ma-

jority. We submit that no fair-minded American can doubt but that the people of Ireland will agree in the same way if accorded the right of self-determination. We are confident that with the consciousness of nationhood and independence the people of Ireland, North and South, will put aside their differences, and that as typified on that symbolic flag, the white of peace will always prevail between the orange and the green.

As Americans, we are unable to see how it can benefit England to hold Ireland in subjection and forfeit the respect of freedom-loving men the world over. Any mere military advantage to England in keeping Ireland subject will be more than offset by the enemies that she will thereby make, for the sons and daughters of Erin scattered over the face of the earth in search of that freedom and justice which are denied them in their native land, will carry with them always and everywhere and transmit to their descendants from generation to generation the bitter and resentful spirit of the Irish exile. We earnestly hope that England will see that a free Ireland will mean a friendly America, and that it will remove the greatest obstacle that stands in the way of a closer union among all the English-speaking peoples of the world. And we also hope England will see that a subject Ireland will mean, and to a nation of one hundred millions of freemen, must in the very nature of things mean an unfriendly America. Finally, and I hope this misgiving will prove to be wrong, if England now repudiates the principle of self-determination in its application to Ireland, which she tacitly accepted in her hour of need in consideration of American aid, we hope that our President will say to the statesmen of England: "Gentlemen, the American people, through me as their spokesman, will feel compelled to appeal to the people of England, and to the people of France, and to the people of Italy, to the end that their representatives in the Peace Congress shall not betray the confidence of America, who responded to their appeal without question and sprang to their rescue when it almost seemed that their hour was about to strike." If this appeal becomes necessary and is made, we believe it will be heard, for it is the people who have suffered and made the sacrifices, and they are not only grateful for America's aid in the past, but hoping

and praying for America's aid in the future for the great cause of humanity.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

Twenty-five thousand American citizens of Irish birth or blood, in meeting assembled at Madison Square Garden, New York, on the 10th day of December, 1918, declare:

That we rejoice with our fellow-citizens at the victorious conclusion of the war and the triumph of the ideals for which American entered the war.

That we take justifiable pride in the record for bravery and patriotic fervor made by the men of the Irish race in the army and navy and the important part they played in the decisive battles for the democratic freedom of the world.

That we applaud the determination of our President to be present at and participate in the proceedings of the Peace Congress, to the end that full effect be given to the principles enunciated by him in his addresses to Congress, his state papers and his speeches, which have been accepted by the American people as the true reason and purpose of America's participation in the war.

That the most important of those principles, that of self-determination as to the form of government by the consent of the people who are to be governed, should be applied to the people of Ireland, in conformity with America's declaration.

That the Irish people are, by race, language and traditions a distinct and separate people, that their country is a nation with well-defined geographical boundaries, that they have exercised sovereign rights for a thousand years, and have been deprived of them by force, that they have never surrendered or compromised those rights, that they have not ceased to struggle morally and physically to recover those rights; that they are withheld from them by force, and that the only rule which prevails in their country today is the rule of force against the will of the people.

That on every battlefield from the earliest in the Revolution to the latest in France, where American ideals were fought for and American institutions and interests defended, the Irish race in America have freely given their blood and lives and linked themselves with every-

thing so essentially American that with truth and confidence they may now say to their country in this supreme hour: "Stand for the people whose sons have stood for you and show grateful recognition as well as vindictive right and justice."

Therefore, we respectfully but earnestly urge that our President declare at the Peace Congress that the people of Ireland should, as matter of right and justice, be governed only in accordance with their consent, and that the will of the majority—ascertained by a plebiscite of the adult population—be accepted as the sovereign will of the people instead of the present foreign rule by force.

The Irish Case Against Ulster

Reprinted from the London "New Age."

If the Irish nation were as cynical and impatient as the history of Anglo-Irish relations would justify, it would be difficult for an Irishman to credit the seriousness of those who now profess to see a conflict between the claim of Ireland for self-determination and the denial of that claim on behalf of "Ulster." Fortunately, our faith is also the measure of our patience, and our tendency to an all-too-human skepticism is modified by experience of the endless and amazing ignorance of the elementary facts of the Anglo-Irish problem, which prevails even amongst well-disposed foreigners. A library of Irish political literature has accumulated, in proportions which we would gladly exchange for more tangible evidences of our national existence and the importance of our country. Yet in vain, apparently, have political writers from Molyneux, Swift and Berkeley to our own day set forth the various and varying aspects of Ireland's case for self-government; in vain have men struggled and fought and died to assert our demand for freedom—this long record of tears and blood, of folly and heroism, is easily obliterated by the speeches of a lawyer who is not an Ulsterman, when the plea is raised on behalf of "Ulster," and the "coercion" of a minority is "unthinkable." There is still a doubt in the mind of Englishmen as to the relative justice of the respective claims of

Ireland and Ulster. Could such a doubt exist, if the facts of the two cases were as clearly established as we Irishmen have so passionately desired?

The clearest proof of misunderstanding, if not of ignorance, arises at once out of the use of inverted commas in Ireland where in England the word Ulster is mentioned without any modification. Ulster is to us a purely geographical term, which describes the Northern Province of Ireland, containing the nine counties of Donegal, Cavan, Monaghan, Tyrone, Armagh, Fermanagh, Down, Antrim and Derry. This region is intimately and gloriously associated with the greatest traditions, historical, religious and literary, of the Irish race, from the earliest times down to the eve of the Union. It was the burial ground of St. Patrick, the stronghold of the Knights of the Red Branch, the scene of the epic masterpiece of Celtic literature. In Belfast Wolfe Tone conceived his splendid dream of the United Irishmen; at Dungannon Grattan created the volunteers of precious significance; and the battles of Benburb and the Yellow Ford have sanctified with triumphal memories the soil of Ulster. Evidently this Irish Ulster is not the "Ulster" which has called forth the devotion of Sir F. E. Smith and his colleagues, and whose right to self-determination troubles the minds of disinterested Englishmen, no less than it serves the malevolent purpose of certain political and industrial interests.

The genesis of "Ulster," as distinct from the Irish province of that name, dates from the Flight of the Earls, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel fled into exile, in consequence of an alleged conspiracy, with which they were charged upon evidence as dubious as that frequently to be employed to discredit Irishmen in subsequent history. The last stronghold of the Gaelic State having fallen, the way was prepared for the Plantation under James I and Cromwell, when some 100,000 Scottish Presbyterians were established in Ulster at the expense of the native population. These immigrants soon began to suffer from the civil and religious disabilities, the restrictions upon trade, which constituted the policy of English government in Ireland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

"Political power," says Mr. Erskine Childers, "was wielded in the interests of a small territorial and Episcopalian aristocracy, largely absentee." This minority succeeded in driving out of the country a great body of artisans and manufacturers, whose skill strengthened foreign competition with England, and whose hatred and resentment were vital factors in the revolt of the American colonies, to which the majority had emigrated. It was a sense of common grievance, and the need of unity for self-defense, which brought the Catholic Irish and the Presbyterian settlers together, and it seemed as if the idea of a united nation of all parties and creeds had crystallized. But, on the migration of the Presbyterians to America, Dublin Castle conceived the characteristically fatal plan of precipitating a conflict by awakening the old feud between the Scottish colonists and the Irish people. Catholics were encouraged to settle on the lands vacated by the Presbyterians, and economic rivalry revived the old religious antagonisms. The democratic impulse, which had prompted the Ulster Protestants to take the side of revolutionary France and America, was stifled, and the energies which were making Ulster a center of republicanism, with a union of Catholic and Protestant, were deflected into the channel of sectarian warfare. A fratricidal struggle ensued, leading to the foundation of the Orange Society, where Wolfe Tone had hoped to see a nation of United Irishmen.

THE REAL "ULSTER."

The Protestant Grattan described the Orangemen as "robbers and assassins who murder in the name of God and tyrannize in the name of liberty." They drove the Catholics out of Ulster, repudiated in 1798 the republican and democratic principles they had invoked in 1782, and fixed the fundamental traits of the "Ulster" with which England and Ireland have ever since been confronted. When the scrap of paper guaranteeing the independence of the Kingdom of Ireland was completely torn up by the Act of Union in 1800, "Ulster," as distinct from Ulster, had every reason to rally to a regime which promised to foster its illegitimate interests to the detriment of national well-being. Uneasy conscience gave reality to the hatred

and fear of Catholicism, and to this bogey was sacrificed the healthy and normal development of the affected community, whose gradual incorporation into the body national and politic might have followed the course of evolution familiar in all other countries. Stimulated and protected by the system under which Ireland has been administered from 1800 to the present day, the unnatural conditions of "Ulster" have persisted with only the slightest modifications. Liberal in politics, the Ulster Protestants took refuge in Toryism when Gladstone became a Home Ruler in 1883, and the complications of the case have been by no means lightened by the phenomenon of an ultra-reactionary industrial area, with a revolutionary and republican tradition, blinded by religious prejudice, not only to the welfare of the community of which it is a part, but even to the obvious demands of its own special local problems.

Such, in brief, is the history of the purely *political* phenomenon, "Ulster," which is now presented to the English people, without inverted commas, as a *national* problem, claiming the same right to settlement by self-determination as the Irish nation. It is important, therefore, to recall not only the origins and development of the Ulster question, but also the present obstacles in the way of any acceptance of the popular theory of homogeneity in the case of Ulster separatism. The total population of Ulster in 1911 was 1,581,696, of which 690,816 were Catholic Nationalists. Politically this division of the population was even more forcibly emphasized by the return of seventeen Nationalist, as against sixteen Unionist, Members of Parliament. By any democratic test the majority in Ulster is proved united with the majority elsewhere in Ireland, so far as the demand for an Irish Parliament is concerned. Ulster is neither Unionist nor Protestant: three counties, Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan, are almost wholly Catholic; Catholics and Protestants are about equally divided in Armagh, Tyrone and Fermanagh; and it is only in the three eastern counties of Down, Antrim and Derry that there is a strong Protestant Unionist majority. Even then, Belfast has returned one Nationalist member, representing the Home Rule, Catholic minority. If the four counties known as North-East Ulster are grouped together for

electoral purposes, it is found that five Nationalists are elected as against fourteen Unionists. The remaining five counties return twelve Nationalists and only two Unionists. Clearly it is impossible to consider Ulster as a political and religious unity. If the right of Ireland to self-determination be granted, not only will a minority of the whole country be "coerced," but a minority in Ulster itself.

To do "Ulster" justice, those interested have rarely dared to base their demand for separate treatment on the ground of a majority's right to self-determination. Carsonia is frankly anti-democratic and particularist, demanding special concessions for a minority, on the sole ground of local advantage, and without any thought for the rights of the majority in Ulster, or the remaining provinces of Ireland. It is alleged that "Ulster" has prospered since the Union, that it is passionately devoted to England (not the Empire, for Colonial Home Rule is abhorrent), that its interests are opposed to those of the rest of Ireland, and that these would suffer at the hands of a legislature representing an agricultural community, and dominated by Catholicism. The very arguments cited in favor of "Ulster" are a proof of the particularism and purely local selfishness of their champions. So far as the prosperity of Ulster is concerned, it is limited to a few industries in a restricted area. The Province shows the second highest total of emigration for all Ireland between 1851 and 1911, namely, 1,236,872, and between 1841 and 1911 the population of Ulster had declined by 805,177 persons. Three Ulster counties are on the list of Irish counties with the greatest number of emigrants, and two of them are in the super-prosperous, super-contented "North-East Corner," namely, Antrim, with 297,605, and Down with 162,571. And, as showing that this decline of man-power is not a heritage of Papal superstition, these figures are higher than those for the third county, Tyrone, whose emigrants over the same period numbered 149,243. As for the pretence that a poverty-stricken agricultural population would victimize this "prosperous" industrial minority, it is worth noting that the taxable revenue per head is lower in Ulster than in Leinster, £3 9s. 8d in the former, £4 8s. 9d. in the latter, and that congested districts, with all the misery the words

connote, are found in Ulster no less than in Connacht.. On *per capita* valuation the *highest* northern county ranks only twelfth in Ireland. In fact, what "Ulster" fears even more than it fears democratic government is democratic taxation. Its claim to self-determination is a claim for capitalist determination alike for Ireland and Ulster.

F. A. B.

England's Attitude Toward Ireland

From the London "New Statesman."

Ireland's record in the war has been, from the point of view of the Allies, magnificent. The magnificence of the Irish contribution to the cause of freedom has been only less amazing than the flood of calumny and belittlement that has been consistently poured on it ever since August, 1914. Ireland has made a greater voluntary contribution of men to the Allied forces than any other unfree nation in the world. That is the leading fact of the situation. Sir Charles Russell, speaking at a Red Cross meeting at Dublin a few weeks ago, declared that Ireland had given 250,000 men to the British army and navy; and this leaves altogether out of account the equally large number of Irishmen who have taken part in the war in the Australian, Canadian and American armies. If these are added in, we need not hesitate to accept Mr. John Redmond's estimate that 500,000 Irishmen have fought in the ranks of the Allies for the liberty of the world. At the same time, as was shown in the *New Statesman* some time ago, Ireland has been second only to America itself in the supplies of food she has sent to England during the perilous years of the war. Had it not been for the assistance rendered by Ireland, both in men and foodstuffs, it is doubtful whether the Allies would yet have been able to force Germany to submission. This is not to claim that Ireland has done more than any other country. It is to claim merely that she was a necessary link in the great chain of the Allied success. He would be a knave and a fool who would attempt to disparage the sacrifices of France and England, of tortured Belgium and tortured Serbia. He would be equally a knave and fool, however, who, having accepted the services of half a

million Irish soldiers and sailors, would pretend that Ireland has not made an immense and foreseeable contribution to the victory of the Allies, and who would reward the Irish dead a weak sneer about the abundance of butter in Ireland in war-time.

It may be asked why, these things being so, has the average Englishman been allowed to get the idea that Ireland has stood aside and sulked during the war. Some people think the insurrection of 1916 is chiefly to blame. Well, there were not enough Irishmen in the Dublin insurrection in 1916 to make up even one battalion of the Irish Guards. One was told at the time that the Dublin insurgents numbered about a thousand. One has learned since then that they were hardly more than 600. Clearly, if Ireland's freedom is to depend upon whether her services to the Allies have outweighed her disservices, she has earned her freedom about a thousand times over. For every Irishman who shouldered a rifle on the insurgent side, a thousand Irishmen have borne weapons on the side of the Allies. I doubt if one Englishman in a hundred thousand realizes this. If they did, they would insist on seeing that their Irish allies had a free Parliament restored to them before the Peace Conference sits. Never was the need of a national government proved more completely. Had Ireland possessed a national government during the war, she would have had an organ for making known her services to the civilized world. Canada, Australia, and South Africa have but to speak of what they have done, and all the world listens. The *Times*, and the press in general, pay deference to them as free nations that command respect. South Africa has not contributed nearly so many men to the Allied armies as Ireland has done, but, luckily for herself, South Africa is free, and even her most malignant enemy of the old days dares not criticize her gift. She too, like Ireland, had a small insurrection; but, even after this, she escaped calumny. She, too, has been divided in opinion as to the war, far more so, indeed, than Ireland was before the malevolence of the anti-Irish authorities had had time to destroy the people's enthusiasm for Belgium. "It is an unfortunate fact," said Mr. Merriman in the early part of the present year, "that we in South Africa are for our sins driven into two factions of al-

most equal strength. Almost one-half of the European population is coldly neutral towards the issue which we look upon as vital, if, indeed, they are not positively hostile to the cause of the Allies." And yet South Africa is free. If there is any coldness towards the Allies, it is on account of past wrongs. In Ireland, on the other hand, if there is any coldness towards the Allies, it is on account of present wrongs. Some months ago, when a dinner was given in honor of Mr. Burton, the Minister of Mines in South Africa, Mr. Asquith in a speech mentioned the number of the South African forces who had served in the war. The *Times*, for some reason or other, omitted the figures in its report. I wondered at the time whether it was because they made Ireland's contribution seem so immense by comparison. The *Times* was content to give the report of the dinner some general appreciative heading such as "Loyal South Africa." It is more exigent in regard to Ireland. English statesmen, it is clear, have also one standard for South Africa and another for Ireland. Mr. Burton, we are told, related to the assembled guests the story of a wounded Boer soldier who said that he wished to get to France in order to repay the gift of free institutions to his country. He went on to say that the soldier's eye brightened as he added: "I would not have raised one single hand for the Empire if the Empire had refused to establish in my country that freedom which South Africa now enjoys." It is said that Mr. Austen Chamberlain and other representative statesmen who were present cheered this remarkable saying of the Boer soldier. By what fatality is it that they are unable to see that Irishmen are human beings, with the same passions as Boers? General Botha wrote to Mr. Redmond to say that he agreed with him that South Africa's services to the Allies were simply the fruit of the concession of national freedom. Yet, even without national freedom, and as a pure act of faith, Ireland poured her sons into the trenches in the most critical days of the war and helped to hold the line at its weakest for the world's freedom.

IRELAND'S CONTRIBUTION.

Let me say again that I do not make these comparisons in order to belittle the services of any other nation, but only to show up Ireland's services in the war in a true

light. Most of the free nations have published a list of their dead and wounded soldiers during the last week or two. Let us have a full list of the dead and wounded Irish soldiers, so that we may judge how great have been the sacrifices made by Ireland. Has Japan contributed as many dead as Ireland? She has not. Yet Japan is praised. Has New Zealand contributed as many? She has not. Yet New Zealand is praised. Has South Africa? Has Canada? Canada has a greater population than Ireland. Yet if figures were to be had, I am confident if could be shown that far fewer Canadian-born men than Irish-born men have fallen in the war. Captain Esmonde, M. P., said in the House of Commons the other day: "I have seen myself, buried in one grave, 400 Nationalist soldiers killed in one fight"—two-thirds as many as the total number of the Dublin insurgents of Easter week. And that mournful spectacle has been repeated not after one fight, but after fifty during the war. In the most desperate days of the war—at Mons and at the Marne—Irishmen were present at the thickest of the fighting, and battalion after battalion gave itself up to the slaughter, singing "The Bold Feiner Men," "A Nation Once Again," and other songs of the kind that the police nowadays suppress with baton charges in Ireland. As the beginning of the war a battalion of the Irish Guards mutinied. It was because it had been rumored that they were not being sent to the front. The Irish Guards, it will be remembered, had been reprimanded at the time of the Buckingham Palace conference for cheering Mr. Redmond on his way down Birdcage Walk. I knew a soldier in the Irish Guards, now dead, who declared that his battalion called themselves "Redmond's Own." Well, they are dead, and so are the Redmonds, and Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Bonar Law have made the glorious sacrifice of surviving to perpetuate the subjection of Ireland. One is not surprised to hear of the Nationalist soldier back from the front who said to Mr. Dillon: "Mr. Dillon, the worst of it is I know now that we are not fighting for liberty, for England is going to betray us." England, please God, with the help of labor, is going to do nothing of the sort; but Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Shortt, so far as they are able, have already made the great betrayal. Anti-Irish influences have for the moment triumphed, and Ireland

is held up to contempt as a sullen shirker to all the free nations of Europe.

Mr. Lloyd George admitted, in the days following the insurrection, the malignity of the anti-Irish influences that had been at work among the English official classes in the early days of the war. This malignity has been shown by nothing more clearly than by the nature of the anti-Irish propaganda carried on by propagandists in the United States. The misrepresentation of Ireland to the United States could not have been more vehement if Ireland had been fighting for the Germans instead of for the Allies. If an American soldier, going ashore in Ireland, got into a drunken row that ended in a fight, the incident was telegraphed to America as if it were an unprovoked assault on the American flag by Irish Nationalists. And what can be said of the egregious statements about Ireland made in Mr. "Ian Hay's" propaganda book published in America and exposed by Mr. Devlin in the House of Commons? Irishmen ask themselves whether an English Government that meant to deal honestly by Ireland would actually pay for the spread of anti-Irish feeling in America. It seemed to me at the beginning of the war that England was now about to take the attitude before the world: "Well, we have done wrong in the past; but we are now going to liberate the small nations of the world—Ireland among them." Instead of that, English propaganda, so far as it has related to Ireland, has largely been occupied with an attempt to show, not that England has at last admitted the justice of the cause of Ireland, but that, comparatively speaking, England's attitude to Ireland is satisfactory and just. Every other Allied country except Ireland has been glorified in pamphlet after pamphlet. Ireland alone has been maligned. One egregious pamphlet has been published to show that the English do not behave as badly in Ireland as the Germans in Poland. On grounds of this kind nearly any country might be denied its freedom. One can usually find some other country which, in some respect or other, has suffered still worse.

Here, then, is the plain truth about Ireland. Some powerful influences, which have always hated the thought of Irish freedom, have devoted themselves resolutely to the abnegation of Ireland since the beginning of the war. Why, the story of the heroic deeds of the Irish regiments

at Gallipoli was suppressed until Mr. Redmond raised a storm about them, after the troops of every other nation had been given full credit. And today people who are praising the Czecho-Slovaks and the Poles—both of whom fought (under compulsion) against the Allies by the fifty thousand—are to be found denouncing the Irish, who contributed an immense and vitally necessary army to the cause of the Allies. I thank God for the freedom that is coming to the Poles and the Bohemians. But Ireland, too, has some little claim on the attention of the statesmen of these years of liberation. As she thinks of her dead, lying in a world of graves in Flanders, Gallipoli and Mesopotamia, she may well (adapting lines of Mr. Kipling's,) cry out, in the agony of her soul:

“If blood be the price of nationality,
Good God, we ha’ paid in full.”

In this hour of the triumph of justice, let not the great deeds of this little nation be forgotten.

R. L.
